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them to do so, or because they thought they saw some hope of benefit for themselves—not one because of any *bona fide* dispute with another which, under any conceivable circumstances, would or could have been submitted to a court.

Such wars cannot, in the nature of things, be prevented until there is a police force established by international agreement to prevent insupportable demands (when they will cease to be made) or until civilization has advanced to the point where the nations will cease to burden themselves with armaments which only serve as a pretext for hostilities and will support their demands by reason instead of by force.

There is, therefore, no ground whatever for questioning the value of international courts because they have not done what they were never intended to do and under no existing circumstances could do.

Such courts have done a great work, and they have yet a greater work to do. Their existence is necessary in order that disputes may be settled in some way other than by war, where negotiation has failed, and when they have been placed upon a sounder and more permanent basis the nations will turn to them more and more as a place where justice may be had, and this will lead the nations to ask justice only.

But we hear it further said that nations must arm themselves against such conflagrations as this which may even leap across the sea—that the United States must arm itself and be prepared.

But even a brief analysis of the existing situation shows that it was the huge armaments of the contending powers which provoked and brought on this war.

Germany is thought by many to have instigated this conflict. Would she have done so if she had not believed herself to have an invincible military engine?

Germany says that France and Great Britain and Russia plotted to destroy her, and she was forced to fight. If this be true, would there have been any plotting if these nations had not believed Germany was a menace to them by reason of her great military power? Would they have undertaken to destroy her because she excelled in art or science, or even in commerce? How could conquering her prevent her scientific men from continuing their researches or her merchants from sending their goods to the markets of the world?

And if England and France and Russia had not possessed great military and naval power, would they have plotted, if they did plot? Is it not as certain as any thing which depends largely on conjecture can be that the rivalry in armaments, the constant struggle to keep ahead of possible enemies, is the main, if not the only, cause of the breaking out of this terrible war? Fear, engendered by great military preparations on all sides, grew into an obsession until a powder mine was prepared which a spark exploded; and who remembers even now what that spark was? What are the questions at issue? Why are they fighting—killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of the best men of Europe? They are fighting for only one thing—to destroy each other's military power; and if they had not built up this power there would have been no war.

The mere increase of armament arouses suspicion that it is intended not for defense (as is always claimed), but for offense, and this stimulates like increases elsewhere and dread and dislike which soon grow into hate, and then—a war.

Nothing would be greater folly than for the United States to be drawn into this mad race for military supremacy—and there would be no surer way to invite attack from those who may fear our military preparations are intended for their hurt. It would do no nation any good to attack the United States, even if it could conquer us, and it is certain such a thing would never be contemplated or attempted unless from dread of an attack by us, inspired by military preparations having no apparent object. Our traditional policy has served us well, and without maintaining an army or an unduly powerful navy we have grown to be the equal, if not the superior, of any nation in prestige and influence, and in all that makes for true greatness, and are much safer from attack than if we had a great army and a military class constantly seeking for glory and to perpetuate its own occupation.

The lesson of great armaments has been, and will be, a terrible one; but this war may end for all time the struggle for armed supremacy. It is almost certain that as the war is being waged to destroy military power, one exaction of the conquerors will be to limit the military and naval power of the conquered, and from that it will be a natural step to limit their own power, and perhaps agree to act in concert to control any nation making unlawful demands on another.

Thus the world may soon follow the example set by the United States; but it would be incredible folly for us to fall into the error of the European nations and invite attack by preparation against imaginary enemies.

Editorial Notes.

President's Offer of Mediation.

On August 4 the President formally tendered the good offices of the United States Government to the nations of Europe which were engaged in the conflict, if they should at that or any future time desire to consider terms of peace. The messages were cabled to Emperor William, Emperor Nicholas, Emperor Francis Joseph, King George, and President Poincaré. Secretary Bryan also requested all the European diplomats in Washington to call at his office and receive copies of the message to be transmitted to their governments. In the case of countries not directly involved, this was done as a matter of information, and also in the hope that they would urge the acceptance of the offer of mediation. In due time replies were received from all the governments of the warring nations, but they were in the nature of formal acknowledgments merely. Secretary Bryan, in discussing the situation, said that it might be some time before the nations would be ready to listen to any idea of mediation, but that the United States had put itself on record as ready to render every assistance toward restoring peace at the earliest moment possible. The following is the text of the offer:

"As official head of one of the powers signatory to the Hague Convention, I feel it to be my privilege and my duty, under article 3 of that convention, to say to you in a spirit of most earnest friendship that I should welcome an opportunity to act in the interest of Euro-

pean peace, either now or at any other time that might be thought more suitable, as an occasion to serve you and all concerned in a way that would afford me lasting cause for gratitude and happiness.

"WOODROW WILSON."

Bryan Peace Treaties Ratified. Eighteen of the peace treaties which Secretary Bryan had negotiated with foreign nations were ratified by the Senate on August 13. No action was taken on the pacts with the Dominican Republic, Peru, and Panama. In its report to the Senate the Foreign Relations Committee expressed its belief that the existence of such treaties would be most potential in preventing the precipitation of sudden wars such as now exist in Europe. The Senate eliminated the provision in the treaties with Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Persia whereby the contracting parties agree not to increase their military or naval programs pending the report of the international commission unless compelled by danger from a third power. On September 15, similar treaties were signed with Great Britain, France, Spain, and China in the presence of the Cabinet by Secretary Bryan and the diplomatic representatives of those countries. Thus the total number of treaties negotiated is now twenty-six.

Death of Pope Pius X. The late Pope Pius X, whose death occurred on August 20, was essentially a man of peace. His heart was broken over the outbreak of war, and his death is said to have been materially hastened by the overwhelming sorrow of beholding the nations engaged in slaughtering each other. He was exceedingly active in efforts to induce the Austrian Emperor to compose the situation, and thus maintain the peace of Europe. For hours he would sit in meditation on the dread havoc that would ensue were war once entered upon. In his brief fatal illness he often pleaded in broken utterances for Divine mercy on the warring countries. It is reported that near the end he murmured: "Now I begin to think, as the end is approaching, that the Almighty, in His inexhaustible goodness, wishes to spare me the horrors Europe is undergoing." Only a few days before his death he addressed a notable message to the world:

"At this moment when nearly the whole of Europe is being dragged into the vortex of a most terrible war, with its present dangers and miseries and the consequences to follow, the very thought of which must strike every one with grief and horror, we, whose care is the life and welfare of so many citizens and peoples, cannot but be deeply moved and our heart wrung with the bitterest sorrow. . . .

"We charge therefore the Catholics of the whole world to approach the throne of grace and mercy, each and all of them, and more especially the clergy, whose

duty furthermore it will be to make in every parish, as their bishops shall direct, public supplications so that the merciful God may, as it were, be wearied with the prayers of His children and speedily remove the evil causes of war, giving to them who rule to think the thoughts of peace and not of afflictions."

Message to Benedict XV. On September 3 the successor to the late Pope was chosen, and Cardinal della Chiesa, under the name of Benedict XV, was crowned Pope on the 6th. In response to a cable message from Mr. Henri La Fontaine, president of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, saying that the Peace Bureau had sent an appeal to the new Pope, and requesting the peace societies in America to do the same, the secretary of the American Peace Society, on the 4th of September, sent the following cablegram to the Pope through Cardinal Gibbons, who was then in Rome:

"American Peace Society, Washington, with many branches, supports Benedict XV urgent appeal all warring powers immediately cease hostilities.

"TRUEBLOOD, Secretary."

On September 10 the Pope issued a pastoral letter to the universal Catholic world, in which he urges peace and brotherhood and beseeches the heads of the nations to enter into a council of peace. In an interview published in an Italian newspaper Cardinal Gibbons states that Pope Benedict has instructed him to do all possible to induce American public opinion to demand peace. Among the statements contained in the Pope's encyclical are these:

"We exhort most earnestly those who govern the destiny of the nations that they should bring themselves to a frame of mind whereby they may put aside all dissensions contrary to the welfare of humanity.

"Let them realize that there already is too much suffering and sorrow attached to this mortal life and that it should not be rendered more wretched or more sorrowful; let them realize how much ruin and disaster already has been wrought and how much human blood already has been shed."

Addressing the heads of the nations, the Pope says:

"Hasten, therefore, to enter into a council of peace. Grasp the right hand of friendship and receive a special reward from God for yourselves and your nations and earn the greatest praise from the brotherhood of man."

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"It was ever my desire to maintain peace. . . . As President of the Peace Society of Japan I have consistently so endeavored. . . . As Premier of Japan I have stated and I now again state to the people of America and of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or any other peoples of anything which they now possess."—Count OKUMA (in *The Independent*).